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HIB
MOLINA

THE

GEOGRAPHICAL,

NATURAL, AND CIVIL

HISTORY OF CHILI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN OF

THE ABBE DON J. IGNATIUS MOLINA.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

NOTES

FROM THE SPANISH AND FRENCH VERSIONS,

AND

TWO APPENDIXES,

BY THE ENGLISH EDITOR;

THE FIRST, AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARCHIPELAGO OF CHILOE, FROM THE DESCRIPCION HISTORIAL OF P. F. PEDRO GONZALEZ DE AGUEROS;

THE SECOND, AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVE TRIBES WHO INHABIT THE SOUTHERN EXTREMITY OF SOUTH AMERICA, EXTRACTED CHIEFLY FROM FALKNER'S DESCRIPTION OF PATAGONIA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME,
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THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

CIVIL HISTORY OF CHILI.

FOUR years have elapsed since I promised to publish the present Essay on the Civil History of Chili, as a continuation of the one formerly written on the Natural History of that country. Engagements of this kind are, however, from their nature, conditional. When I undertook this work, it was in full confidence of being in a short time in possession of the necessary materials to complete it. The first volume of the Abbé Olivares' manuscript I had then in my possession; this, with what works had appeared in print, supplied me with sufficient documents until the year 1665; and I was in constant expectation of receiving from Peru the second volume of the same author, in which he has brought the subject down to a late period.

In this hope I was disappointed. This volume, on which I had so confidently relied, I have never received, and have been in consequence compelled to seek from various other sources the information which it would have given me. The wars of the natives with the Spaniards being, however, the only proper subject of Chilian History, and but two having occurred since the above period, the first in 1722, and the second in 1767, I have been enabled, by the aid of some of my countrymen now in Italy, who recollect the principal events, to supply in some measure the want of a regular detail, and to give a sufficiently accurate account of them. Having stated these circumstances, I shall merely observe that, without being influenced by national distinctions or prejudices, the chief merit to which I aspire in this narration is that of impartiality. I have related nothing but what I have either found in those writers upon Chili who have preceded me, or have received from persons of unquestionable veracity, and have thought proper to confine myself to a plain narrative of facts, and omit all reflections that might occur, in order not to appear to be too much influenced in favour of either of the contending parties.

The attention of several philologists has of late years been directed to the examination of the barbarous languages. For this reason I have

been induced t. annex to this work some remarks upon the Chilian tongue, which, from its structure and harmony, well merits to be known. Several printed and manuscript grammars of this language are to be .t with, but the one which I have principally u d is that of Febres, printed at Lima, in the ear 1765, and deserving of particular recommendation for its method and its clearness.

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THE

CIVIL HISTORY

OF

CHILI.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Origin, Appearance, and Language of the Chilians.

THE origin of the primitive inhabitants of Chili, like that of the other American nations, is involved in impenetrable obscurity; nor have they any records, or monuments of antiquity, that can serve to elucidate so interesting an inquiry. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards they were entirely unacquainted with the art of writing, and their traditionary accounts are so crude and imperfect, that they afford not the least degree of rational information to the inquisitive mind. Many of the inhabitants suppose that they are indigenous to the country, while others derive their origin from a foreign stock, and at

one time say that their ancestors came from the north, and at another time, from the west.

It is a general opinion that America was settled from the north-eastern part of Asia, from the supposed easy communication between them, in consequence of the vicinity of these countries. But the opinion entertained by the Chilians, that their country was peopled from the west, is not so extravagant as at first sight it may appear. The discoveries of the English navigators in the South Sea have ascertained that between America and the southern point of Asia there is a chain of innumerable islands, the probable remains of some vast tract of land which, in that quarter, once united the two continents, and rendered the communication between Asia and the opposite shore of America easy. From whence it is very possible that, while North America has been peopled from the north-west, the south has received its inhabitants from the southern parts of Asia, the natives of this part of the new world being of a mild character, much resembling that of the southern Asiatics, and little tinctured with the ferocity of the Tartars. Like the languages of the Oriental Indians, theirs is also harmonious, and abounds in vowels. The influence of climate may undoubtedly affect language so far as to modify it, but can never produce a complete change in its primitive structure.

The Chilians call their first progenitors *Pegni Epatun,* which signifies the brothers *Epatun,* but of these patriarchs nothing but the name is known. They also call them *glyce,* primitive men, or men from the beginning, and in their assemblies invoke them, together with their deities, crying out with a loud voice, *Pom, pum, pum, mari, mari, Epunamun, Amimalguen, Peni Epatum.* The signification of the three first words is uncertain, and they might be considered as interjections, did not the word *pum,* by which the Chinese call the first created man, or the one saved from the waters, induce a suspicion, from its similarity, that these have a similar signification. The lamas, or priests of Thibet, from the accounts of the natives of Indostan, are accustomed to repeat on their rosaries, the syllables *hom, ha, hum,* or *om, am, um,* which in some measure corresponds with what we have mentioned of the Chilians.

That Chili was originally peopled by one nation appears probable, as all the aborigines inhabiting it, however independent of each other, speak the same language, and have a similar appearance. Those that dwell in the plains are of good stature, but those that live in the valleys of the Andes, generally surpass the usual height of man. The purer air which they respire, and the continual exercise to which they are accustomed among their mountains, may perhaps be

the cause of this difference, by imparting greater vigour to their frames. The features of both are regular, and neither of them have ever discovered that capricious whim, so common to savages of both the old and new world, of attempting to improve nature by disfiguring their faces, with a view of rendering themselves more beautiful or more formidable. Of course, M. Buffon has been led into an error in asserting, in his treatise on man, that the Chilians are accustomed to enlarge their ears.

Their complexion, like that of the other American nations, is of a reddish brown, but it is of a clearer hue, and readily changes to white. A tribe who dwell in the province of Baroa are of a clear white and red, without any intermixture of the copper colour. As they differ in no other respect from the other Chilians, this variety may be owing to some peculiar influence of their climate, or to the greater degree of civilization which they possess; it is, however, attributed by the Spanish writers to the prisoners of that nation, who were confined in this province during the unfortunate war in the sixteenth century. But as the Spanish prisoners were equally distributed among the other provinces of their conquerors, none of whose inhabitants are white, this opinion would seem to be unfounded. Besides, as the first Spaniards who came to Chili were all from the southern provinces of Spain,

where the ruddy complexion is rare, their posterity would not have exhibited so great a difference.

On examining the harmony and richness of their language, we are naturally led to conclude that the Chilians must have, in former times, possessed a much greater degree of civilization than at present; or, at least, that they are the remains of a great and illustrious nation, ruined by some of those physical or moral revolutions so common to our globe. The improvement and perfection of language constantly follow the steps of civilization; nor can it be easily conceived how a nation that has never emerged from a savage state, that has neither been polished by laws, by commerce, nor by arts, can possess an elegant, expressive, and copious dialect. The number of words in a language presupposes a correspondent number of ideas in the persons who speak it, and these among a rude people are, and, necessarily must be, very limited.

So copious is the Chilian language, that, in the opinion of those well acquainted with it, a complete dictionary thereof would require more than one large volume; for, besides the radical words, which are very numerous, so great is the use of compounds, that, it may almost be said, in this consists the very genius of the language. Each verb, either derivatively or conjunctively, becomes the root of numerous other verbs and

nouns, as well adjectives as substantives, which in their turn re-produce others that are secondary, modifying themselves in a hundred different ways.

Nor is there any part of speech, from which an appropriate verb cannot be formed by the addition of a final *n*. Even from the most simple particles various verbs are derived, that give great precision and strength to conversation. But what is truly surprising in this language is that it contains no irregular verb or noun. Every thing in it may be said to be regulated with a geometrical precision, and displays much art with great simplicity, and a connection so well ordered and unvarying in its grammatical rules, which always make the subsequent depend upon its antecedent, that the theory of the language is easy, and may be readily learned in a few days.

This close analogy and regularity, may at a slight view induce an opinion little favourable to the capacity of those who formed or polished this dialect, as the original languages, it is well known, were regular in their rude and primitive state. But a very different conclusion will be drawn by those who examine its structure, and attend to the extent and complexity of ideas necessary to have formed it, and to have modified the words in so many different ways, without embarrassing the particular rules.

The same language also abounds with harmonious and sonorous syllables, which give it much sweetness and variety; this is, however, injured by the frequent recurrence of the *u*, a defect from which the Latin is by no means exempt. In this respect the latter has, however, been fortunately corrected in its derivatives, particularly the Italian, which has studied to avoid, especially in the finals, the unpleasant sound resulting from the use of that vowel.

The Chilian differs from every other American language, not less in its words than its construction, with the exception of from eighteen to twenty of Peruvian origin, which, considering the contiguity of the two countries, is not to be wondered at.

But what may appear much more singular is, that it contains words apparently of Greek and Latin derivation, and of a similar signification in both languages;* I am inclined, however, to think this merely an accidental resemblance.

* *If this is not, as our author supposes, merely a casual resemblance of a few words, which frequently occurs in languages radically different, it certainly affords much ground for curious speculation; and we may, perhaps, be led to consider the tradition of a Phenician or Carthaginian colony in America, as not altogether so destitute of probability, especially as the language of the Chilians, so different from that of any other of the American tribes, appears to indicate a different origin.*—Amer. Trans.

CHAP. II.

Conquest of the Peruvians in Chili.

THE history of the Chilians does not precede the middle of the fifteenth century of our era; before that period, for want of records, it is lost in the obscurity of time. The first accounts of them are contained in the Peruvian annals; that nation, as they were more civilized, being more careful to preserve the memory of remarkable events.

About that time the Peruvians had extended their dominion from the equator to the tropic of Capricorn. Chili, bordering upon that tropic, was too important an acquisition not to attract the ambitious views of those conquerors. This country, which extends for 1260 miles upon the Pacific Ocean, enjoys a delightful and salutary climate. The vast chain of the Cordilleras bordering it upon the east, supplies it with an abundance of rivers, which increase its natural fertility. The face of the country, which is mountainous towards the sea, and level near the Andes, is well suited to every kind of vegetable production, and abounds with mines of gold, silver, and other useful metals.

Favoured by the pleasantness of the country and salubrity of the climate, the population at this period may be readily imagined to have been very numerous. The inhabitants were divided into fifteen tribes, or communities, independent of each other, but subject to certain chiefs, called Ulmenes. These tribes, beginning at the north and proceeding to the south, were called Copiapins, Coquimbanes, Quillotanes, Mapochinians, Promaucians, Curés, Cauques, Pencones, Araucanians, Cunches, Chilotes, Chiquilanians, Pehuenches, Puelches, and Huilliches.

The Inca Yupanqui, who reigned in Peru about the year 1450, being informed of the natural advantages possessed by Chili, resolved to attempt the conquest of it. With this intent he marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of that kingdom; but, either through apprehension of his personal safety, or with the view of being in a more favourable situation to furnish the means of effecting his designs, he established himself with his court in the neighbouring province of Atracama, and entrusted the command of the expedition to Sinchiruca, a prince of the blood royal.

Preceded, according to the specious custom of the Peruvians, by several ambassadors, and followed by a large body of troops, this general subjected to the Peruvian government, more by persuasion than by force, the Copiapins, Coquim-

banes, Quillotanes, and Mapochinians. After this, having passed the river Rapel, he proceeded to attack the Promaucians, who could not be induced by the persuasions of the ambassadors to submit themselves. This nation, whose name signifies the free dancers, from their being much attached to that diversion, inhabited the delightful country lying between the rivers Rapel and Maúle, and were distinguished from all the other tribes by their fondness for every species of amusement. The love of pleasure had not, however, rendered them effeminate: they opposed the Peruvian army with the most heroic valour, and entirely defeated it in a battle, which, according to Garcilasso the historian, was continued for three days in succession, in consequence of the continued reinforcements of both parties.

The Inca, on learning the ill success of his arms, and the invincible valour of the Promaucians, gave orders, that in future the river Rapel should serve as the boundary of his dominion on that side. Garcilasso says, that it was the river Maúle, but it is by no means probable, that the conquerors should be comprehended within the territories of the vanquished. In fact, not far from the river Cachapoal, which, together with the Tinguiririca, forms the Rapel, are still to be seen upon a steep hill, the remains of a fort of Peruvian construction, which was

undoubtedly built to protect that part of the frontier against the attacks of the unconquered Promaucians.

Thus Chili became divided into two parts, the one free, and the other subject to foreign domination. The tribes, who had so readily submitted to the Peruvians, were subjected to an annual tribute in gold, an imposition which they had never before experienced. But the conquerors, whether they dared not hazard the attempt, or were not able to effect it, never introduced their form of government into these provinces. Of course, the subjected Chilians as well as the free, preserved until the arrival of the Spaniards, their original manners, which were by no means so rude as many are led to imagine.

CHAP. III.

State of Chili before the arrival of the Spaniards. Its agriculture and aliment.

MAN, in his progress to the perfection of civil life, passes in succession through four important states or periods. From a hunter he becomes a shepherd, next a husbandman, and at length a merchant, the period which forms the highest degree of social civilization. The Chilians, when they were first known to the Spaniards, had attained the third state; they were no longer hunters but agriculturists. Reasoning from general principles, Dr. Robertson has therefore been led into an error in placing them in the class of hunters, an occupation which they probably never pursued, except on their first establishment. Becoming soon weary of the fatiguing exercise of the chace, in a country where game is not very abundant, and having but few domestic animals, they began at an early period to attend to the cultivation of such nutritious plants, as necessity or accident had made known to them. Thus were they induced from the circumstances of their situation, and not

from choice, to pass rapidly to the third period of social life.

These plants, which have been described in the first part of this work, were the *maize*, the *magu*, the *guegen*, the *tuca*, the *quinoa*, pulse of various kinds, the potatoe, the *oxalis tuberosa*, the common and the yellow pumkin or gourd, the Guinea pepper, the *madi*, and the great strawberry. To these provisions of the vegetable kind, which are far from despicable, may be added the little rabbit, the Chiliheuque, or Araucanian camel, whose flesh furnished excellent food, and whose wool, clothing for these people. If tradition may be credited, they had also the hog and the domestic fowl. Their dominion over the tribe of animals was not extended beyond these, although they might as readily have domesticated the guanaco, a very useful animal, the pudu, a species of wild goat, and various birds with which the country abounds.

However, with these productions, which required but a very moderate degree of industry, they subsisted comfortably, and even with a degree of abundance, considering the few things which their situation rendered necessary.

To this circumstance is owing, that the Spaniards, who under the command of Almagro invaded Chili, found upon their entering its valley an abundance of provisions to recruit themselves

after the hunger which they had endured in their imprudent march through the desarts bordering upon Peru.

Subsistence, the source of population, being thus secured, the country, as before remarked, became rapidly peopled under the influence of so mild a climate; whence it appears, that the first writers who treated of Chili cannot have greatly exaggerated in saying that the Spaniards found it filled with inhabitants. It is a fact that there was but one language spoken throughout the country; a proof that these tribes were in the habit of intercourse with each other, and were not isolated, or separated by vast desarts, or by immense lakes or forests, which is the case in many other parts of America, but which were at that time in Chili, as they are now, of inconsiderable extent.

It would seem that agriculture must have made no inconsiderable progress among a people who possessed, as did the Chilians, a great variety of the above-mentioned alimentary plants, all distinguished by their peculiar names, a circumstance that could not have occurred except in a state of extensive and varied cultivation. They had also in many parts of the country aqueducts for watering their fields, which were constructed with much skill. Among these, the canal, which for the space of many miles borders the rough skirts of the mountains in the vicinity of the ca-

pital and waters the lands to the northward of that city, is particularly remarkable for its extent and solidity. They were likewise acquainted with the use of the manures, called by them *vunalti*, though from the great fertility of the soil but little attention was paid to them.

Being in want of animals of strength to till the ground, they were accustomed to turn it up with a spade made of hard wood, forcing it into the earth with their breasts; but as this process was very slow and fatiguing, it is surprising that they had not discovered some other mode more expeditious and less laborious. They at present make use of a simple kind of plough, called *chetague*, made of the limb of a tree curved at one end, in which is inserted a share formed of the same material, with a handle to guide it. Whether this rude instrument of agriculture, which appears to be a model of the first plough ever used, is one of their own invention, or was taught them by the Spaniards, is uncertain; from its extreme simplicity I should, however, be strongly induced to doubt the latter. Admiral Spilsberg observes, that the inhabitants of Mocha, an island in the Araucanian Sea, where the Spaniards have never had a settlement, make use of this plough, drawn by two chilihueques, to cultivate their lands; and Fathers Bry, who refer to this fact, add, that the Chilians, with the assistance of these animals, tilled their

grounds before they received cattle from Europe. However this may be, it is certain that this species of camel was employed antecedent to that period as beasts of burden, and the transition from carriage to the draught is not difficult.

Man merely requires to become acquainted with the utility of any object, to induce him to apply it by degrees to other advantageous purposes.

It is a generally received opinion that grain was eaten raw by the first men who employed it as an article of food. But this aliment being of an insipid taste, and difficult of mastication, they began to parch or roast it; the grain thus cooked easily pulverizing in the hands, gave them the first idea of meal, which they gradually learned to prepare in the form of gruel, cakes, and finally of bread. At the period of which we treat, the Chilians ate their grain cooked; this was done either by boiling it in earthen pots adapted to the purpose, or roasting it in hot sand, an operation which rendered it lighter and less viscous. But not satisfied with preparing it in this mode, which has always been the most usual among nations emerging from the savage state, they proceeded to make of it two distinct kinds of meal, the parched, to which they gave the name of *murque*, and the raw, which they called *rugo*. With the first they made gruels, and a kind of beverage which they at present use for breakfast

instead of chocolate; from the second they prepared cakes, and a bread called by them *couque* which they baked in holes formed like ovens, excavated in the sides of the mountains and in the banks of the rivers, a great number of which are still to be seen. Their invention of a kind of sieve, called *chignigue*, for separating the bran from the flour, affords matter of surprise; that they employed leaven is, however, still more surprising, as such a discovery can only be made gradually, and is the fruit of reasoning or observation, unless they were led to it by some fortunate accident, which most probably was the case when they first began to make use of bread.

From the above-mentioned grains, and the berries of several trees, they obtained nine or ten kinds of spiritous liquor, which they fermented and kept in earthen jars, as was the custom with the Greeks and Romans. This refinement of domestic economy, though not originating from actual necessity, appears to be natural to man, in whatever situation he is found; more especially when he is brought to live in society with his fellow men. The discovery of fermented liquors soon follows that of aliment; and it is reasonable to believe that the use of such beverages is of high antiquity among the Chilians, more especially as their country abounds in materials for making them.

CHAP. IV.

Political Establishments, Government, and Arts.

AGRICULTURE is the vital principle of society and of the arts. Scarcely does a wandering family, either from inclination or necessity, begin to cultivate a piece of ground, when it establishes itself upon it from a natural attachment, and, no longer relishing a wandering and solitary life, seeks the society of its fellows, whose succours it then begins to find necessary for its welfare. The Chilians, having adopted that settled mode of life indispensable to an agricultural people, collected themselves into families, more or less numerous, in those districts that were best suited to their occupation, where they established themselves in large villages, called *cara,* a name which they at present give to the Spanish cities, or in small ones, which they denominated *lov.* But these accidental collections had not the form of the present European settlements; they consisted only of a number of huts, irregularly dispersed within sight of each other, precisely in

the manner of the German settlements in the time of Charlemagne. Some of these villages exist even at present in several parts of Spanish Chili, of which the most considerable are Lampa, in the province of Saint Jago, and Lora, in that of Maúle.

But as no civil establishment can exist without some form of government, they had in each village or hamlet a chief called *Ulmen*, who in certain points was subject to the supreme ruler of the tribe, who was known by the same name. The succession of all these chiefs was established by hereditary right, a custom that proves the antiquity of these political assemblages. Among other savage nations, strength, skill in hunting, or martial prowess, were the first steps to authority, and afterwards procured the regal sway for those who were invested with command. But with the Chilians, on the contrary, it would seem as if wealth had been the means of exalting the ruling families to the rank which they occupy, since the word *ulmen*, unless taken in a metaphorical sense, signifies a rich man. The authority of these chiefs was probably very limited, that is, merely directive, and not coercive, as that of the rulers of all barbarous nations has been, when despotism, favoured by propitious circumstances, has not effaced the ideas of absolute independence, which are in a manner innate among savages, as has been the case with the

greater part of the nations of Asia and of Africa. From hence it will not be necessary to investigate the laws of these small societies, which were probably governed only by usages and customs that had been introduced through motives of necessity or convenience.

The right of private property was fully established among the Chilians. Each was absolute master of the field that he cultivated, and of the product of his industry, which he could transmit to his children by hereditary succession. This fundamental principle gave rise to the first arts, which the wants of nature and their political constitution required. They built their houses of a quadrangular form, and covered the roof with rushes, the walls were made of wood plaistered with clay, and sometimes of brick, called by them *tica;* the use of which they doubtless learned from the Peruvians, among whom it was known by the same name.

From the wool of the Chilihueque, they manufactured cloths for their garments: for this they made use of the spindle and distaff, and two kinds of looms; the first, called *guregue,* is not very unlike that used in Europe; the other is vertical, from whence it derives its name *uthalgue,* from the verb *uthalen,* which signifies to stand upright. Their language contains words appropriate to every part of these looms, and

whatever relates to the manufacture of wool. They had likewise a kind of needle to sew their garments, as is obvious from the verb *nuduven*, to sew; but of what substance it was made I am unable to determine. Embroidery, to which they gave the name of *dumican*, was also known to them.

From these arts of the first necessity, they proceeded to those of a secondary kind, or such as were required by convenience. With the excellent clay of their country, they made pots, plates, cups, and even large jars to hold their fermented liquors. These vessels they baked in certain ovens or holes, made in the declivity of hills. They also made use of a mineral earth called *colo*, for varnishing their vessels. It is very certain that the art of pottery is of great antiquity in Chili, as on opening a large heap of stones in the mountains of Arauco, an urn of extraordinary size was discovered at the bottom. For their vessels they not only made use of earth, but of hard wood, and even of marble, and vases of the latter have been sometimes discovered that were polished with the greatest perfection.

From the earth they extracted gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead; and, after purifying, employed these metals in a variety of useful and curious works, particularly the bell-metal copper, which is very hard; of this they made axes,

hatchets, and other edged tools, but in small quantities, as they are rarely to be met with in their sepulchres; where, on the contrary, hatchets made of a species of basalt are very frequently found. It is remarkable, that iron, universally supposed to have been unknown to the American nations, has a particular name in the Chilian language. It is called *panilgue*, and the weapons made of it *chiuquel*, in distinction from those made of other materials, which are comprehended under the general name of *nylin*. The smith was called *ruthavé*, from the verb *ruthan*, which signifies to work in iron. These circumstances give rise to a suspicion that they not only were acquainted with this valuable metal, but that they also made use of it. But, considering the silence of the first writers upon America on this subject, notwithstanding the inferences that may be drawn from hence, this point must always remain undecided, unless pieces of iron should be found of incontestible antiquity.

They had also discovered the method of making salt upon the sea shore, and extracted fossil salt from several mountains that abounded in that production. These they distinguished by different names, calling the first *chiadi*, and the other *lilcochiadi*, that is, salt of the water of rocks. They procured dyes of all colours for their clothes, not only from the juice of plants,

but also from mineral earths, and had discovered the art of fixing them by means of the *polcura*, a luminous stone of an astringent quality. Instead of soap, the composition of which they had not discovered, although acquainted with lie, they employed the bark of the *quillai*, which is an excellent substitute. From the seeds of the madi, they obtained an oil which is very good to eat and to burn, though I am ignorant whether they ever applied it to the latter purpose.

Their language contains words discriminative of several kinds of baskets and mats, which they manufactured from various vegetables. The plant called *gnocchia* furnishes them with thread for their ropes and fishing nets, of which they have three or four kinds. They also make use of baskets and hooks for taking fish, but of what substance the latter are made I am not able to determine. The inhabitants of the sea-coast make use of pirogues of different sizes, and floats made of wood, or of seal skins sewed together and inflated with air.

Although hunting was not a principal occupation with these people, yet, for amusement, or with the view of increasing their stock of provision, they were accustomed to take such wild animals as are found in their country, particularly birds, of which there are great quantities. For this purpose they made use of the arrow, of the sling, and of the *laque* or noose, already

described in the preceding part of this work, and of several kinds of snares constructed with much ingenuity, known by the general appellation of *guaches*. It is a singular fact, that they employed the same method of taking wild ducks, in their lakes and rivers, as that made use of by the Chinese, covering their heads with perforated gourds, and letting themselves glide gently down among them. These minutiæ would perhaps be scarcely worth attending to, in an account of the manners and discoveries of a people well known for their advancement in the arts of civilization, but in the history of a remote and unknown nation, considered as savage, they become important and even necessary to form a correct opinion of the degree of their progress in society.

With means of subsistence, sufficient to have procured them still greater conveniences of living, it would seem that the Chilians ought to have progressed with rapid steps towards the perfection of civil society. But from a species of inertia, natural to man, nations often remain for a long time stationary, even when circumstances appear favourable to their improvement. The transition from a savage to a social life is not so easy as at first view may be imagined, and the history of all civilized nations may be adduced in proof of this proposition.

The Chilians were also isolated, and had none

of those commercial connections with foreigners which are the only means of polishing a people. The neighbouring nations were in a state of still greater rudeness than themselves, except the Peruvians, a connection with whom, from their ambition of dominion they would more studiously avoid than cherish. They learned, however, some things from them during the time that they were in possession of the northern provinces, at which period they had attained that middle point between the savage and civilized state, known by the name of barbarism. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the variety of their occupations, which multiplied the objects of their attention, gradually enlarged the sphere of their ideas.

They had progressed so far in this respect, as to invent the numbers requisite to express any quantity, *mari* signifying with them ten, *pataca* a hundred, and *guaranca* a thousand. Even the Romans possessed no simple numerical terms of greater value, and indeed calculation may be carried to any extent by a combination of these principal decimals.

To preserve the memory of their transactions, they made use, as other nations have done, of the *pron*, called by the Peruvians *quippo*, which was a skein of thread of several colours with a number of knots. The subject treated of was indicated by the colours, and the knots designated

the number or quantity. This is all the use that I have been able to discover in such a *register, in which some authors have pretended to find a substitute for the art of writing. This admirable art was unknown to the Chilians; for although the word *chilcan*, to write, is met with in their language, it was originally nothing more than a synonym of *gutrin*, which signifies to sketch or paint. Of their skill in this latter art, I am ignorant; but if we may form an opinion from representations of men that are cut upon certain rocks, we must conclude that they were entirely unacquainted with it, as nothing coarser or more disproportioned can be imagined.

Far different was the progress which they made in the sciences of physic and astronomy, it was indeed wonderful; but an account of these, of their religion, their music and military skill, I shall reserve till I treat of the Araucanians, who still continue the faithful depositories of all

* The *quipos* is still used by shepherds in Peru, who keep account by it of the number of their flocks, and of the day and hour when the ewe yeaned, or the lamb was lost.

Ah Italian author, after the publication of M. Grafigny's novel, wrote a large quarto volume concerning the *quipos*. He describes every thing relating to *quipography*, says the Limas-Essarist, as confidently as if he had been Quipo-Camáyn to the Incas; but the misfortune is, that all his conjectures are erroneous.—*E. E.*

Mercurio Peruano, Marzo 17, 1791, *T.* 1. *f.* 206.

the science and ancient customs of the Chilians. Their language contains also words indicating a knowledge of several other arts, which I decline mentioning, as there are no guides of sufficient accuracy to conduct our researches into a subject so important, and at the same time so doubtful. The first Europeans who visited these countries, attracted by other objects of far less interest, thought little or nothing of those that merit the attention of every observing mind, on visiting an unknown people. From thence it has happened that their accounts, for the most part, furnish us only with vague and confused ideas, from whence we can draw nothing but conjectures. The Chilians, however, remained in much the same state of society as I have described, until an unexpected revolution compelled them, in a great measure, to adopt other customs and other laws.

CHAP. V.

First Expedition of the Spaniards to Chili.

FRANCIS PIZARRO and Diego Almagro having put to death the Inca Atahualpa, had subjected the empire of Peru to the dominion of Spain. Pizarro, desirous of enjoying without a rival this important conquest, made at their mutual expense, persuaded his companion to undertake the reduction of Chili, celebrated for its riches throughout all those countries. Almagro, filled with sanguine expectations of booty, began his march for that territory in the end of the year 1535, with an army composed of 570 Spaniards and 15,000 Peruvians, under the command of *Paullu*, the brother of the Inca Manco, the nominal Emperor of Peru, who had succeeded the unfortunate Atahualpa.

Two roads lead from Peru to Chili; one is by the sea-coast, and is destitute of water and provision; the other, for a distance of 120 miles, passes over the immense mountains of the Andes. This last Almagro took, for no other reason but because it was the shortest. His army, after

having been exposed to infinite fatigue, and many conflicts with the adjoining savages, reached the Cordilleras just at the commencement of winter, destitute of provisions, and but ill supplied with clothing. In this season the snow falls almost continually, and completely covers the few paths that are passable in summer. Notwithstanding, the soldiers, encouraged by their general, who had no idea of the danger of the passage, advanced with much toil to the top of those rugged heights. But victims to the severity of the weather, 150 Spaniards there perished, with 10,000 Peruvians, who, being accustomed to the warmth of the torrid zone, were less able to endure the rigours of the frost.

The historians who have given an account of this unfortunate expedition concur in saying, that of all this army not one would have escaped with life, had not Almagro, resolutely pushing forward with a few horse, sent them timely succours and provisions, which were found in abundance in Copiapo. Those of the most robust constitutions, who were able to resist the inclemency of the season, by this unexpected aid were enabled to extricate themselves from the snow, and at length reached the plains of that province, which is the first in Chili, where through respect for the Peruvians they were well received and entertained by the inhabitants.

The Inca Paullu, who was well acquainted

with the object of the expedition, thought that nothing would contribute more to raise the spirits of his dejected friends, than by letting them know the importance of their conquest. With this intent, he obliged the peasants to deliver up to him all the gold in their possession, and having by this means collected 500,000 ducats, he presented them to Almagro. The Spaniard was so highly pleased, that he distributed the whole among his soldiers, to whom he also remitted the debts they owed him for the immense sums of money that he had advanced for the preparation of the enterprize. Being persuaded that in a short time he should have all the gold of the country at his disposal, he sought by this display of liberality to maintain the reputation of being generous, which he had acquired in Peru by his profuse lavishment of the treasures of its sovereigns.

While Almagro remained in Copiapo, he discovered that the reigning *Ulmen* had usurped the government in prejudice of his nephew and ward, who, through fear of his uncle, had fled to the woods. Pretending to be irritated at this act of injustice, he caused the guilty chief to be arrested, and calling before him the lawful heir, reinstated him in the government with the universal applause of his subjects, who attributed this conduct entirely to motives of justice, and a wish to redress the injured.

The Spaniards, having recovered from their fatigues through the hospitable assistance of the Copiapins, and reinforced by a number of recruits whom Rodrigo Organez had brought from Peru, commenced their march for the southern provinces, filled with the most flattering hopes, increased by the beautiful appearance of the country, and the numerous villages that appeared upon all sides. The natives crowded round them on their march, as well to examine them nearer, as to present them with such things as they thought would prove agreeable to a people, who appeared to them of a character far superior to that of other men.

In the meantime, two soldiers having separated from the army, proceeded to Guasco, where they were at first well received, but were afterwards put to death by the inhabitants, in consequence, no doubt, of some acts of violence, which soldiers, freed from the control of their officers, are very apt to commit. This was the first European blood spilt in Chili, a country afterwards so copiously watered with it.

On being informed of this unfortunate accident, calculated to destroy the exalted opinion which he wished to inspire of his soldiers, Almagro, having proceeded to Coquimbo, ordered the *Ulmen* of the district, called Marcando, his brother, and twenty of the principal inhabitants to be brought thither, all of whom, together

with the usurper of Copiapo, he delivered to the flames, without, according to Herrera, pretending to assign any reason for his conduct. This act of cruelty appeared to every one very extraordinary and unjust, since among those adventurers there were not wanting men of sensibility, and advocates for the rights of humanity. The greater part of the army openly disapproved of the severity of their general, the aspect of whose affairs from this time forward became gradually worse and worse.

About this period, 1537, Almagro received a considerable reinforcement of recruits under Juan de Rada, accompanied with royal letters patent, appointing him governor of two hundred leagues of territory, situated to the southward of the government granted to Francis Pizarro. The friends whom he had left in Peru, taking advantage of this opportunity, urged him by private letters to return, in order to take possession of Cuzco, which they assured him was within the limits of his jurisdiction. Notwithstanding this, inflated with his new conquest, he pursued his march, passed the fatal Cachapoal, and, regardless of the remonstrances of the Peruvians, advanced into the country of the Promaucians.

At the first sight of the Spaniards, their horses, and the thundering arms of Europe, these valiant people were almost petrified with astonishment,

but soon recovering from the effects of surprise, they opposed with intrepidity their new enemies upon the shore of the Rio-claro. Almagro, despising their force, placed in the first line his Peruvian auxiliaries, increased by a number whom *Paullu* had drawn from the garrisons; but these, being soon routed, fell back in confusion upon the rear. The Spaniards, who expected to have been merely spectators of the battle, saw themselves compelled to sustain the vigorous attack of the enemy, and advancing with their horse, began a furious battle, which continued with great loss upon either side, till night separated the combatants.

Although the Promaucians had been very roughly handled, they lost not their courage, but encamped in sight of the enemy, determined to renew the attack the next morning. The Spaniards, however, though by the custom of Europe they considered themselves as victors, having kept possession of the field, were very differently inclined. Having been accustomed to subdue immense provinces with little or no resistance, they became disgusted with an enterprise, which could not be effected without great fatigue and the loss of much blood, since, in its prosecution they must contend with a bold and independent nation, by whom they were not believed to be immortal. Thus all, by

CHAP. VI.

The Spaniards return to Chili, under the command of Pedro de Valdivia; St. Jago the capital founded; Various encounters with the natives; Conspiracy of the soldiers against the general.

FRANCIS PIZARRO having, by the death of his rival, obtained the absolute command of the Spanish possessions in South America, lost not sight of the conquest of Chili, which he conceived might, in any event, prove an important acquisition to him. Among the adventurers who had come to Peru were two officers, commissioned by the court of Spain, under the titles of governor, to attempt this expedition. To the first, called Pedro Sanchez de Hoz, was committed the conquest of the country as far as the river Maúle; and to the other, Carmargo, the remainder to the Archipelago of Chiloé. Pizarro, jealous of these men, under frivolous pretexts refused to confirm the royal nomination, and appointed to this expedition his quartermaster, Pedro de Valdivia, a prudent and active

officer, who had gained experience in the Italian war, and, what was a still greater recommendation, was attached to his party, directing him to take de Hoz with him, who was probably more to be feared than his colleague, and to allow him every advantage in the partition of the lands.

This officer having determined to establish a permanent settlement in the country, set out on his march in the year 1540, with 200 Spaniards, and a numerous body of Peruvian auxiliaries, accompanied by some monks, several women, and a great number of European quadrupeds, with every thing requisite for a new colony. He pursued the same route as Almagro, but instructed by the misfortunes of his predecessor, he did not attempt to pass the Andes until midsummer. He entered Chili without incurring any loss, but very different was the reception he experienced from the inhabitants of the northern provinces from that which Almagro had me with. Those people, informed of the fate of Peru, and freed from the submission they professed to owe the Inca, did not consider themselves obliged to respect their invaders.

They, of course, began to attack them upon all sides, with more valour than conduct. Like barbarians in general, incapable of making a common cause with each other, and for a long time accustomed to the yoke of servitude, they attacked them by hordes, or tribes, as they ad-

vanced, without that steady firmness that characterizes the valour of a free people. The Spaniards, however, notwithstanding the ill-combined opposition of the natives, traversed the provinces of Copiapo, Coquimbo, Quillota, and Melipilla, and arrived much harassed, but with little loss, at that of Mapocho, now called St. Jago. This province, which is more than six hundred miles distant from the confines of Peru, is one of the most fertile and pleasant in the kingdom. Its name signifies "the land of many people," and from the accounts of the first writers upon Chili, its population corresponded therewith, being extremely numerous. It lies upon the confines of the principal mountain of the Andes, and is 140 miles in circumference. It is watered by the rivers Maypo, Colina, Lampa, and Mapocho, which last divides it into two nearly equal parts, and after pursuing a subterraneous course for the space of five miles, again shows itself with increased copiousness, and discharges its waters into the Maypo. The mountains of Caren, which terminate it on the north, abound with veins of gold, and in that part of the Andes, which bounds it at the east, are found several rich mines of silver.

Valdivia, who had endeavoured to penetrate as far as possible into the country, in order to render it difficult for his soldiers to return to

Peru, determined to make a settlement in this province; which, from its natural advantages, and its remoteness, appeared to him more suitable than any other for the centre of his conquests. With this view, having selected a convenient situation on the left shore of the Mapocho, on the 24th of February 1541, he laid the foundations of the capital of the kingdom, to which, in honour of that apostle, he gave the name of St. Jago. In laying out the city he divided the ground into plats or squares, each containing 4096 toises, a fourth of which he allowed to every citizen, a plan that has been pursued in the foundation of all the other cities. One of these plats, lying upon the great square, he destined for the cathedral and the bishop's palace, which he intended to build there, and the one opposite for that of the government. He likewise appointed a magistracy, according to the forms of Spain, from such of his army as were the best qualified; and to protect the settlement in case of an attack, he constructed a fort upon a hill in the centre of the city, which has since received the name of St. Lucia.

Many have applauded the discernment of Valdivia, in having made choice of this situation for the seat of the capital of the colony. But considering the wants of a great city, it would have been better placed fifteen miles farther to the south, upon the Maypo, a large river which

has a direct communication with the sea, and might easily be rendered navigable for ships of the largest size.

This city, however, contains at present (1787) more than forty thousand inhabitants, and is rapidly increasing in population, from its being the seat of government, and from its great commerce supported by the luxury of the wealthy inhabitants.

Meanwhile, the natives saw with a jealous eye this new establishment, and concerted measures, although late, for freeing themselves of these unwelcome intruders. Valdivia, having discovered their intentions in season, confined the chiefs of the conspiracy in the fortress, and suspecting some secret intelligence between them and the neighbouring Promaucians, repaired with sixty horse to the river Cachapoal to watch their movements. But this measure was unnecessary; that fearless people had not the policy to think of uniting with their neighbours in order to secure themselves from the impending danger.

The Mapochinians, taking advantage of the departure of the general, fell upon the colony with inconceivable fury, burned the half-built houses, and assailed the citadel, wherein the inhabitants had taken refuge, upon all sides. While they defended themselves valiantly, a woman, named Inez Suarez, animated with a spirit more cruel than courageous, seized an axe,

and beat out the brains of the captive chiefs, who had attempted to break their fetters and regain their liberty.

The battle began at day-break, and was continued till night, while fresh assailants, with a firmness worthy of a better fate, constantly occupied the places of those that were slain. In the meantime, the commander of the fort, Alonzo Monroy, found means during the confusion to dispatch a messenger to Valdivia, who returned immediately, and found the ditch filled with dead bodies, and the enemy, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained, preparing to recommence the combat; but, joining the besieged, he advanced in order of battle against their forces, which were posted on the shore of the Mapocho. There the battle was again renewed, and contested with equal valour, but with great disadvantage on the part of the natives, who were far inferior to their enemies in arms and discipline. The musketry and the horse made a dreadful slaughter among men, who were armed only with bows and slings; but, obstinately contending with even their own impotence, they furiously rushed on to destruction until, wholly enfeebled, and having lost the flower of their youth, they fled dispersed over the plains.

Yet, notwithstanding this defeat, and others of not less importance that they afterwards experienced, they never ceased, for the space of six

years, until their utter ruin, to keep the Spaniards closely besieged, attacking them upon every occasion that offered, and cutting off their provisions in such a manner, that they were compelled to subsist upon unwholesome and loathsome viands, and on the little grain which they could raise beneath the cannon of the place. The fertile plains in the neighbourhood had become desert and uncultivated, as the inhabitants had destroyed their crops, and retired to the mountains.

A mode of life so different from what they expected, wearied and disgusted the soldiers, and they finally resolved to kill their general, whom they believed obstinately attached to his plans, and to return to Peru, where they hoped to enjoy more ease and tranquillity. This conspiracy having fortunately been discovered by Valdivia, he began by conciliating the least seditious, which he readily effected, for he possessed great prudence and address. As he had yet only the title of general, he assembled the magistracy of the city, and persuaded them to appoint him governor. Invested with this imposing, though less legitimate character, he punished with death the authors of the conspiracy; but perceiving that this exertion of a precarious authority could not be productive of a durable effect, he prudently applied himself to soothe these turbulent spirits, and to divert their minds from such dan-

gerous schemes, by painting to them in seducing colours the happy prospect that awaited them.

Valdivia had often heard in Peru that the valley of Quilleta abounded in mines of gold, and imagined that he might obtain from thence a sufficient quantity to satisfy his soldiers. In consequence, notwithstanding the difficulties with which he was surrounded, he sent thither a detachment of troops, with orders to superintend the digging of this precious metal. The mine that was opened was so rich that its product surpassed their most sanguine hopes. Their present and past sufferings were all buried in oblivion, nor was there one among them who had the remotest wish of quitting the country. The governor, who was naturally enterprising, encouraged by this success, had a frigate built in the mouth of the river Chilè, which traverses the valley, in order more readily to obtain succours from Peru, without which, he was fully sensible, he could not succeed in accomplishing his vast undertakings.

CHAP. VII.

The Copiapins defeat a body of Spaniards; Successful stratagem employed by the Quillotanes; Valdivia receives reinforcements from Peru; He founds the city of Coquimbo, which is destroyed by the natives; The Promaucians form an alliance with the Spaniards; Foundation of the city of Conception.

In the meantime, as the state of affairs was urgent, Valdivia resolved to send to Peru by land two of his captains, Alonzo Monroy and Pedro Miranda, with six companions, whose spurs, bits, and stirrups he directed to be made of gold, hoping to entice, by this proof of the opulence of the country, his fellow-citizens to come to his assistance. These messengers, although escorted by thirty men on horseback, who were ordered to accompany them to the borders of Chili, were attacked and defeated by a hundred archers of Copiapo, commanded by Coteo, an officer of the ulmen of that province. Of the whole band none escaped with life but the two officers, Monroy and Miranda, who

were brought covered with wounds before the ulmen.

Whilst that prince, who had resolved to put them to death as enemies of the country, was deliberating on the mode, the ulmena, or princess, his wife, moved with compassion for their situation, interceded with her husband for their lives, and having obtained her request, unbound them with her own hands, tenderly dressed their wounds, and treated them like brothers. When they were fully recovered, she desired them to teach her son the art of riding, as several of the horses had been taken alive in the defeat. The two Spaniards readily consented to her request, hoping to avail themselves of this opportunity to recover their liberty. But the means they took to effect this were marked with an act of ingratitude to their benefactress, of so much the deeper dye, as, from their not being strictly guarded, such an expedient was unnecessary.

As the young prince was one day riding between them, escorted by his archers, and preceded by an officer armed with a lance, Monroy suddenly attacked him with a poniard, which he carried about him, and brought him to the ground, with two or three mortal wounds; Miranda at the same time wresting the lance from the officer, they forced their way through the guards who were thrown into confusion by such an unexpected event. As they were well mounted

they easily escaped pursuit, and taking their way through the desarts of Peru, arrived at Cuzco, the residence at that time of Vasca de Castro, who had succeeded to the government upon the death of Pizarro, cruelly assassinated by the partizans of Almagro.

On being informed of the critical situation of Chili, Castro immediately dispatched a considerable number of recruits by land under the command of Monroy, who had the good fortune to conceal his march from the Copiapins; and at the same time gave directions to Juan Batista Pastene, a noble Genoese, to proceed thither by sea with a still greater number. Valdivia, on receiving these two reinforcements, which arrived nearly at the same time, began to carry his great designs into execution. As he had been solicitous from the first to have a complete knowledge of the sea-coast, he ordered Pastene to explore it, and note the situation of the most important parts and places, as far as the straits of Magellan. On his return from this expedition, he sent him back to Peru for new recruits, as, since the affair of Copiapo, the natives became daily more bold and enterprising.

Among others, the Quillotanes had, a little time before, massacred all the soldiers employed in the mines. For this purpose they employed the following stratagem: one of the neighbouring Indians brought to the commander, Gonzalo

Rios, a pot full of gold, telling him that he had found a great quantity of it in a certain district of the country. Upon this information, all were impatient to proceed thither to participate in the imagined treasure. As they arrived tumultuously at the place described, they fell into an ambuscade, from whence none escaped except the imprudent commander and a negro, who saved themselves by the superior excellence of their horses. The frigate that was then finished was also destroyed, being burned together with the arsenal.

Valdivia, on receiving advice of this disaster, hastened thither with his troops, and having revenged, as far as in his power, the death of his soldiers, built a fort to protect the miners. Being afterwards reinforced with three hundred men from Peru, under the command of Francis Villagran and Christopher Escobar, he became sensible of the necessity of establishing a settlement in the northern part of the kingdom, that might serve as a place of arms, and a protection for the convoys that should come that way. For this purpose he made choice of a beautiful plain at the mouth of the river Coquimbo, which forms a good harbour, where, in 1544, he founded a city called by him Serena, in honour of the place of his birth; it is not, however, known at present by this appellation, except in geographical treatises, the country name having prevailed, as is

the case with all the other European settlements in Chili.

In the ensuing year he began to think of extending his conquests, and for that purpose proceeded into the country of the Promaucians. Contemporary writers have not made mention of any battle that was fought upon this occasion; but it is not to be supposed that this valiant people who had with so much glory repulsed the armies of the Inca and of Almagro, would have allowed him, without opposition, to violate their territory. It is, however, highly probable, that Valdivia, in the frequent incursions which he made upon their frontiers, had the art to persuade them to unite with him against the other Chilians by seducing promises; a mean that has been employed by all political conquerors, who have ever availed themselves of the aid of barbarians to conquer barbarians, in order, finally, to subjugate the whole. In fact, the Spanish armies have ever since that period been strengthened by Promaucian auxiliaries, from whence has sprung that rooted antipathy, which the Araucanians preserve against the residue of that nation.

In the course of the year 1546, Valdivia, having passed the Maúle, proceeded in his career of victory to the river Itata. While encamped there in a place called *Quilacura*, he was attacked at night by a body of the natives, who destroyed many of his horses, and put him in

imminent hazard of experiencing a total rout. His loss upon this occasion must have been very considerable, since he afterwards relinquished his plan of proceeding farther, and returned to St. Jago. Perceiving that his expected succours from Peru did not arrive, he resolved to go thither in person, hoping, by means of his activity and address, to recruit a body of troops sufficient for the subjugation of the southern provinces, which had shown themselves the most warlike.

As he was on the eve of his departure, in the year 1547, Pastenes arrived, but without any men, and brought news of the civil war that had broken out between the conquerors of the empire of the Incas. Nevertheless, persuaded that he might reap an advantage from these revolutions, he set sail with Pastene for Peru, taking with him a great quantity of gold. On his arrival, he served in quality of quarter-master general in the famous battle that decided the fate of Gonzalo Pizarro. Gasca, the president, who under the royal standard, had gained the victory, pleased with the service rendered him upon this occasion by Valdivia, confirmed him in his office of governor, and furnishing him with an abundance of military stores, sent him back to Chili, with two ships filled with those seditious adventurers, of whom he was glad of an opportunity to be disembarrassed.

In the meantime, Pedro de Hoz, who, as we have already observed, had been deprived of that share in the conquest that had been granted him by the court, and who had imprudently placed himself in the power of his rival, was accused of wishing to usurp the government. Whether this accusation was well founded, or whether it was merely a pretext to get rid of him, he was, in 1548, publicly beheaded by order of Francis Villagran, who acted as governor in the absence of Valdivia, whom he probably thought to please by thus freeing him from a dangerous competitor, if he had not even received private instructions relative to the business.

The Copiapins, eager to revenge the murder of their prince, killed about the same time forty Spaniards, who had been detached from several squadrons, and were proceeding from Peru to Chili; and the Coquimbanes, instigated by their persuasions, massacred all the inhabitants of the colony lately founded in their territory, razing the city to its foundation. Francis Aguirre was immediately ordered there, and had several encounters with them with various success. In 1549 he rebuilt the city in a more advantageous situation; its inhabitants claim him as their founder, and the most distinguished of them boast themselves as his descendants.

After a contest of nine years, and almost in-

credible fatigues, Valdivia, believing himself well established in that part of Chili which was under the dominion of the Peruvians, distributed the land among his soldiers, assigning to each, under the title of commandery, a considerable portion, with the inhabitants living thereon, according to the baneful feudal system of Europe. By this means, having quieted the restless ambition of his companions, he set out anew on his march for the southern provinces, with a respectable army of Spanish and Promaucian troops.

After a journey of 240 miles, he arrived, without encountering many obstacles, at the bay of Penco, which had been already explored by Pastene, where, on the 5th of October, 1550, he founded a third city, called Conception.*

The situation of this place was very advantageous for commerce from the excellence of its harbour, but, from the lowness of the ground, was exposed in earthquakes to inundations of the sea. The bay, which is in extent from east to west six

* This city was destroyed by the earthquakes and inundations of the sea, that occurred on the 8th of July, 1730, and the 24th of May, 1751. For this reason the inhabitants established themselves, on the 24th of November, 1764, in the valley of Mocha, three leagues south of Penco, between the rivers Andalien and Bio-bio, where they founded New Conception. The harbour is situated in the middle of the bay called Talgacuano, a little more than two leagues west of Mocha; a fort is all the building that is now left at Penco.

miles, and nine from north to south, is defended from the sea by a pleasant island called Quiriquina; the entrance upon the north side, which is half a league broad, is the only one of sufficient depth to admit ships of the line, the other being narrow, and only navigable for small vessels. The soil, under the influence of a favourable climate, produces an abundance of timber, minerals, excellent wine, and all the other necessaries of life, and the sea and rivers great quantities of delicate fish.

The adjacent tribes, perceiving the intention of the Spaniards to occupy this important post, gave information of it to their neighbours and friends, the Araucanians, who, forseeing that it would not be long before the storm would burst upon their own country, resolved to succour their distressed allies, in order to secure themselves. But before I proceed to relate the events of this war, I have thought proper to give some account of the character and manners of that warlike people, who have hitherto, with incredible valour, opposed the overwhelming torrent of Spanish conquest, and from henceforward will furnish all the materials of our history.

THE

CIVIL HISTORY

OF

CHILI.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Local Situation, Character, Dress, and Dwellings of the Araucanians.

THE Araucanians inhabit that delightful country situated between the rivers Bio-bio and Valdivia, and between the Andes and the sea, extending from 36. 44. to 39. 50. degrees of south latitude. They derive their appellation of Araucanians from the province of Arauco, which, though the smallest in their territory, has, like Holland, given its name to the whole nation, either from its having been the first to unite with the neighbouring provinces, or from having at some remote period reduced them under its dominion. This people, ever enthusiastically attached to their independence, pride

themselves in being called *Auca*,* which signifies frank or free, and those Spaniards, who had left the army in the Netherlands to serve in Chili, gave to this country the name of Araucanian Flanders, or the Invincible State, and some of them have even had the magnanimity to celebrate in epic poetry the exploits of a people who, to preserve their independence, have shed such torrents of Spanish blood.

The Araucanians, although they do not exceed the ordinary height of the human species, are in general muscular, robust, well proportioned, and of a martial appearance. It is very unusual to find among them any person who is crooked or deformed, not from their pursuing, as some have supposed, the cruel custom of the ancient Spartans, in suffocating such unfortunate children, but because they leave to nature the care of forming them, without obstructing her operations by the improper application of bandages and stays. Their complexion, with the exception of the Boroanes, who, as I have already observed, are fair and ruddy, is of a reddish brown, but clearer than that of the other Americans. They have round faces, small animated eyes full of expression, a nose rather flat, a hand-

* According to Falkner the missionary, *Aucaes* is a name of reproach, given them by the Spaniards, and signifying rebels or wild-men—*aucani* is to rebel, to make a riot—*auca-cahual* (cevallo) is a wild horse.—*E. E.*

some mouth, even and white teeth, muscular and well shaped legs, and small flat feet. Like the Tartars, they have scarce any beard, and the smallest hair is never to be discerned on their faces, from the care they take to pluck out the little that appears; they esteem it very impolite to have a beard, calling the Europeans, by way of reproach, *the long beards*. The same attention is paid to removing it from their bodies, where its growth is more abundant; that of their heads is thick and black, but rather coarse; they permit it to grow to a great length, and wind it in tresses around their heads; of this they are as proud and careful as they are averse to beards, nor could a greater affront be offered them than to cut it off. Their women are delicately formed, and many of them, especially among the Boroanes, are very handsome.

Possessed of great strength of constitution, and unincumbered with the cares that disturb civilized society, they are not subject, except at a very advanced period of life, to the infirmities attendant upon old age. They rarely begin to be grey before they are sixty or seventy, and are not bald or wrinkled until eighty. They are generally longer lived than the Spaniards, and many are to be met with whose age exceeds a hundred; and, to the latest period of their lives, they retain their sight, teeth, and memory, unimpaired.

Their moral qualities are proportionate to their physical endowments; they are intrepid, animated, ardent, patient in enduring fatigue, ever ready to sacrifice their lives in the service of their country, enthusiastic lovers of liberty, which they consider as an essential constituent of their existence, jealous of their honour, courteous, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, grateful for services rendered them, and generous and humane towards the vanquished. But these noble qualities are obscured by the vices inseparable from the half-savage state of life which they lead, unrefined by literature or cultivation; these are drunkenness, debauchery, presumption, and a haughty contempt for all other nations. Were the civil manners and innocent improvements of Europe introduced among them, they would soon become a people deserving of universal esteem; but, under the present system, this happy change appears impossible to be effected.

All those nations whom either the nature of the climate or a sense of decency has induced to clothe themselves, have made use at first of loose garments, as being the most easily made. But the Araucanians, from their great attachment to war, which they consider as the only true source of glory, have adopted the short garment, as the best suited to martial conflicts. This dress is made of wool, as was that of the Greeks and

Romans, and consists of a shirt, a vest, a pair of short close breeches, and a cloak in form of a scapulary, with an opening in the middle for the head, made full and long so as to cover the hands and descend to the knees. This cloak is called *poncho*, and is much more commodious than our mantles, as it leaves the arms at liberty, and may be thrown over the shoulder at pleasure; it is also a better protection from the wind and the rain, and more convenient for riding on horseback, for which reason it is commonly worn not only by the Spaniards in Chili, but by those of Peru and Paraguay.

The shirt, vest, and breeches, are always of a greenish blue or turquois, which is the favourite colour of the nation, as red is that of the Tartars. The *poncho* is also, among persons of inferior condition, of a greenish blue, but those of the higher classes wear it of different colours, either white, red, or blue, with stripes a span broad, on which are wrought, with much skill, figures of flowers and animals in various colours, and the border is ornamented with a handsome fringe. Some of these *ponchos* are of so fine and elegant a texture as to be sold for a hundred and even a hundred and fifty dollars.

The Araucanians make use of neither turbans nor hats, but wear upon their heads a bandage of embroidered wool, in the form of the ancient

diadem. This, whenever they salute, they raise a little, as a mark of courtesy, and on going to war ornament it with a number of beautiful plumes. They also wear around the body a long woollen girdle, or sash, handsomely wrought. Persons of rank wear woollen boots of various colours, and leather sandals, called *chelle*, but the common people always go bare-footed.

The women are clad with much modesty and simplicity. Their dress is entirely of wool, and, agreeable to the national taste, of a greenish blue colour. It consists of a tunic, a girdle, and a short cloak, called *ichella*, which is fastened before with a silver buckle. The tunic, called *chiamal*, is long, and descends to the feet, it is without sleeves, and is fastened upon the shoulder by silver brooches or buckles. This dress, sanctioned by custom, is never varied; but, to gratify their love of finery, they adorn themselves with all those trinkets which caprice or vanity suggests. They divide their hair into several tresses, which float in graceful negligence over their shoulders, and decorate their heads with a species of false emerald, called *glianca*, held by them in high estimation. Their necklaces and bracelets are of glass, and their ear-rings, which are square, of silver; they have rings upon each finger, the greater part of which are of silver. It is calculated that more than a hundred thou-

and marks of this metal are employed in these female ornaments, since they are worn even by the poorest class.

I have already given some account of the dwellings of the ancient Chilians; the Araucanians, tenacious, as are all nations not corrupted by luxury, of the customs of their country, have made no change in their mode of building. But, as they are almost all polygamists, the size of their houses is proportioned to the number of women they can maintain. The interior of these houses is very simple, the luxury of convenience, splendour, and show, is altogether unknown in them, and necessity alone is consulted in the selection of their furniture.

They never form towns, but live in scattered villages or hamlets, on the banks of rivers, or in plains that are easily irrigated. Their local attachments are strong, each family preferring to live upon the land inherited from its ancestors, which they cultivate sufficiently for their subsistence. The genius of this haughty people, in which the savage still predominates, will not permit them to live in walled cities, which they consider as a mark of servitude.

CHAP. II.

Division of the Araucanian State; Its political Form and civil Institutions.

ALTHOUGH in their settlements the Araucanians are wanting in regularity, that is by no means the case in the political division of their state, which is regulated with much intelligence. They have divided it from north to south into four *uthal-mapus*, or parallel tetrarchates, that are nearly equal, to which they give the names of *laquen-mapu*, the maritime country; *lelbun-mapu*, the plain country; *inapire-mapu*, the country at the foot of the Andes; and *pire-mapu*, or that of the Andes. Each *Uthalmapu* is divided into five *aillaregues*, or provinces; and each aillaregue into nine regues, or counties.

The maritime country comprehends the provinces of Arauco, Tucapel, Illicura, Boroa, and Nagtolten; the country of the plain includes those of Encol, Puren, Repocura, Maquegua, and Mariquina: that at the foot of the Andes contains Marven, Colhue, Chacaico, Quecheregua, and Guanagua; and in that of the Andes is included all the valleys of the Cordilleras, situated within the limits already mentioned,

which are inhabited by the Puelches.* These mountaineers, who were formerly a distinct nation in alliance with the Araucanians, are now united under their government, and have the same magistrates.

This division, which discovers a certain degree of refinement in their political administration, is of a date anterior to the arrival of the Spaniards, and serves as a basis for the civil government of the Araucanians, which is aristocratic as that of all other barbarous nations has been. This species of republic consists of three orders of nobility, each subordinate to the other, the *Toquis*, the *Apo-Ulmenes*, and the *Ulmenes*, all of whom have their respective vassals. The Toquis, who may be styled tetrarchs, are four in number, and preside over the uthal-mapus. The appellation of Toqui is derived from the verb toquin, which signifies to judge or command; they are independent of each other, but confede-

* In the second and third articles of the treaty of Lonquilmo, made in the year 1784, the limits of each Uthalmapu are expressly defined, and its districts marked out. It declares to be appertaining to that of the Cordilleras, the Huilliches of Changolo, those of Gayolto and Rucachoroy to the south, the Puelches and Indian Pampas to the north, from Malalque and the frontiers of Mendoza to the Mamilmapu in the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, the whole forming a corporate body with the Puelches and Pehuenches of Maule, Chillan, and Antuco. So that at present, in case of an infraction of the treaty, it may easily be known what Uthalmapu is to make satisfaction.

rated for the public welfare. The Apo-Ulmenes, or Arch-Ulmenes, govern the provinces under their respective Toquis. The Ulmenes, who are the prefects of the *regues*, or counties, are dependant upon the Apo-Ulmenes. This dependance, however, is confined almost entirely to military affairs. Although the Ulmenes are the lowest in the scale of the Araucanian aristocracy, the superior ranks, generally speaking, are comprehended under the same title, which is equivalent to that of Cacique.

The discriminative badge of the Toqui is a species of battle-axe, made of porphyry or marble. The Apo-Ulmenes, and the Ulmenes, carry staves with silver heads, but the first by way of distinction have a ring of the same metal around the middle of their staves. All these dignities are hereditary in the male line, and proceed in the order of primogeniture. Thus have the dukes, the counts, and marquisses of the military aristocracy of the north been established, from time immemorial, under different names, in a corner of South America.

With its resemblance to the feudal system, this government contains also almost all its defects. The Toqui possesses but the shadow of sovereign authority. The triple power that constitutes it, is vested in the great body of the nobility, who decide every important question, in the manner of the ancient Germans, in a ge-

neral diet, which is called *Butacoyog* or *Aucacoyog*, the great council, or council of the Araucanians. This assembly is usually held in some large plain, where they combine the pleasures of the table with their public deliberations.

Their code of laws, which is traditionary, is denominated *Admapu*, that is to say, the customs of the country. In reality these laws are nothing more than primordial usages, or tacit conventions that have been established among them, as was originally the case with almost all the laws of other nations; they have, consequently, all the defects peculiar to such systems, since, as they are not written, they can neither be very compendious, nor made sufficiently public.

The clearest and most explicit of their political and fundamental laws are those that regulate the limits of each authority; the order of succession in the Toquiates and in the Ulminates, the confederation of the four Tetrarchates, the choice and the power of the commanders in chief in time of war, and the right of convoking the general diets, which is the privilege of the Toquis; all these laws have for their object the preservation of liberty and the established form of government. According to them, two or more states cannot be held under the rule of the same chief. Whenever the male branch of the reigning family becomes extinct, the vassals recover their natural right of electing their own chief

from that family which is most pleasing to them. But before he is installed, he must be presented to the Toqui of their Uthalmapu, who gives notice of his election, in order that the new chief may be acknowledged and respected by all in that quality.

The subjects are not, as under the feudal government, liable to a levy, or to any kind of personal service, except in time of war. Neither are they obliged to pay any contributions to their chiefs, who must subsist themselves by means of their own property. They respect them, however, as their superiors, or rather as the first among their equals; they also attend to their decisions, and escort them whenever they go out of the state. These chiefs, elated with their authority, would gladly extend its limits, and govern as absolute masters; but the people, who cannot endure despotism, oppose their pretensions, and compel them to keep within the bounds prescribed by their customs.

The civil laws of a society whose manners are simple, and interests but little complicated, cannot be very numerous. The Araucanians have but a few; these, however, would be sufficient for their state of life, if they were more respected and less arbitrary. Their system of criminal jurisprudence, in a particular manner, is very imperfect. The offences that are deemed deserving of capital punishment are, treachery,

intentional homicide, adultery, the robbery of any valuable article, and witchcraft. Nevertheless, those found guilty of homicide can screen themselves from punishment by a composition with the relations of the murdered. Husbands and fathers are not subject to any punishment for killing their wives or children, as they are declared, by their laws, to be the natural masters of their lives. Those accused of sorcery, a crime only known in countries involved in ignorance, are first tortured by fire, in order to make them discover their accomplices, and then stabbed with daggers.

Other crimes of less importance are punished by retaliation, which is much in use among them, under the name of *thaulonco*. Justice is administered in a tumultuous and irregular manner, and without any of those preliminary formalities, for the most part useless, that are observed among civilized nations. The criminal who is convicted of a capital offence, is immediately put to death, according to the military custom, without first being suffered to rot in prison, a mode of confinement unknown to the Araucanians. It was, however, a little before my leaving Chili, introduced into Tucapel, the seat of the government of Lauquen-mapu, by *Cathicura*, the Toqui of that district; but, I know not the success of this experiment, which was at first very ill received by his subjects.

The Ulmenes are the lawful judges of their vassals, and for this reason their authority is less precarious. The unconquerable pride of this people prevents them from adopting the wise measures of public justice; they alone possess some general and vague ideas upon the principles of political union, whence the executive power being without force, distributive justice is ill administered, or entirely abandoned to the caprice of individuals. The injured family often assumes the right of pursuing the aggressor or his relations, and of punishing them. From this abuse are derived the denominations and distinctions, so much used in their jurisprudence, of *genguerin, genguman, genla,* &c. denoting the principal connections of the aggressor, of the injured, or the deceased, who are supposed to be authorized, by the laws of nature, to support by force the rights of their relatives.

A system of judicial proceeding so irregular, and apparently so incompatible with the existence of any kind of civil society, becomes the constant source of disorders entirely hostile to the primary object of all good government, public and private security. When those who are at enmity have a considerable number of adherents, they mutually make incursions upon each others possessions, where they destroy or burn all that they cannot carry off. These private quarrels, called *malocas,* resemble much the feuds of the ancient

Germans, and are very dreadful when the Ulmenes are concerned, in which case they become real civil wars. But it must be acknowledged that they are generally unaccompanied with the effusion of blood, and are confined to pillage alone. This people, notwithstanding their propensity to violence, rarely employ arms in their private quarrels, but decide them with the fist or with the club.

CHAP. III.

Military System of the Araucanians; their Arms and Mode of making War.

THE military government of the Araucanians is not only more rational and better systematized than the civil, but in some respects appears to be superior to the genius of an uncultivated nation. Whenever the grand council determines to go to war, they proceed immediately to the election of a commander in chief, to which the Toquis have the first claim, as being the hereditary generals or stadtholders of the republic. If neither of them is deemed qualified for the command, dismissing all regard for rank, they entrust it to the most deserving of the Ulmenes, or even the officers of the common class, as the talents necessary for this important station are what alone are required. In consequence, *Vilumilla*, a man of low origin, commanded the Araucanian army with much honour in the war of 1722; and *Curignanca*, the younger son of an Ulmen of the province of Encol, in that which terminated in 1773.

On accepting his appointment, the new general assumes the title of Toqui, and the stone

hatchet in token of supreme command, at which time the native Toquis lay aside theirs, it not being lawful for them to carry them during the government of this dictator. They likewise, sacrificing private ambition to the public good, take the oaths of obedience and fealty to him, together with the other Ulmenes. Even the people, who in peace shew themselves repugnant to all subordination, are then prompt to obey, and submissive to the will of their military sovereign. He cannot, however, put any one to death without the consent of the principal officers of his army, but as these are of his own appointment, his orders may be considered as absolute.

From the arrival of the Spaniards in the country to the present time, it is observable that all the Toquis who have been appointed in time of war were natives of the provinces of Arauco, of Tucapel, of Encol, or of Puren. Whether this partiality is owing to some superstitious notion, or rather to some ancient law or agreement, I am unable to determine; it appears, however, to be repugnant to the principles of sound policy, as it is very rare for the component parts of a state to maintain themselves long in a state of union, when they do not all participate equally in the advantages of the government. But it is a peculiarity worthy of admiration, that this discrimination has hitherto produced no division among them.

One of the first measures of the national council, after having decided upon war, is to dispatch certain messengers or expresses, called *guerquenis*, to the confederate tribes, and even to those Indians who live among the Spaniards, to inform the first of the steps that have been taken, and to request the others to make a common cause with their countrymen. The credentials of these envoys are some small arrows tied together with a red string, the symbol of blood. But if hostilities are actually commenced, the finger of a slain enemy is joined to the arrows. This embassy, called *pulchitum*, to run the arrow, is performed with such secrecy and expedition in the Spanish settlements, that the messengers are rarely discovered.

The Toqui directs what number of soldiers are to be furnished by each Uthalmapu; the Tetrarchs in their turn regulate the contingencies of the Apo-Ulmenes, and these last apportion them among their respective Ulmenes. Every Araucanian is born a soldier. All are ready to proffer their services for war, so that there is no difficulty in raising an army, which usually consists of five or six thousand men, besides the *corps de reserve*, which are kept in readiness for particular occasions, or to replace those killed in battle.

The commander in chief appoints his Vice Toqui, or lieutenant-general, and the other offi-

cers of his staff, who in their turn nominate their subaltern officers. By this method, harmony and subordination are maintained between the respective commanders. The Vice Toqui is almost always selected from among the Puelches, in order to satisfy that valiant tribe, who, as I have already observed, amount to the fourth part of the population of the state. Nor have the Araucanians ever had cause to repent of this selection. During the last war, one of these mountaineers, Leviantu, lieutenant-general of Curignancu, harassed the Spaniards greatly, and gave their troops constant employment.

The army is at present composed of infantry and of horse. It originally consisted entirely of the former, but in their first battles with the Spaniards, perceiving the great advantage which their enemies derived from their cavalry, they soon began to discipline themselves in the same manner. Their first care was to procure a good breed of horses, which in a short time became so numerous, that in the year 1568, seventeen years after their first opposing the Spanish arms, they were able to furnish several squadrons, and in the year 1585, the cavalry was first regularly organized by the Toqui *Cadeguala.*

The infantry, which they call *namuntulinco,* is divided into regiments and companies; each regiment consists of one thousand men, and contains ten companies of one hundred. The ca-